4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterises the tropical lowland areas.

621
433

> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one. . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community qua community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community: they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

[423]

[432]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cayapas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

621
433
[432]
[2-9]
624
433
434
458
[249]
[245]
000

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

4 Altschuler E-6 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the market, and to maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

621
433
[182]

595
178

Polygyny. Max Reinaa stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Reinaa 1931:206). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

595
178
433

Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a bruja or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

595
684x
584

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the